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Indian tribe. For myself I have regarded them mainly from the point of view of the ethnologist and social psychologist, and cannot help holding a somewhat different opinion on the subject. The state of things which Mr. Grubb found among the Lenguas, it should be noted, is in the main the same as among all Chaco tribes. Mr. Grubb disregards the fact that what he calls Indian socialism, with the solidarity and social sympathy which it involves, is not accidental but the natural outcome of evolution and the circumstances under which the Chaco Indians have lived for centuries. It is not only a natural system but also a useful system, having been developed according to the Darwinian law that in a hard struggle for existence such societies have the best chance to survive in which the sympathetic feelings are strongest. In fact, nowhere is mutual aid more necessary than among the half-nomadic Chaco tribes, who are able to practise agriculture only to a small extent and who, as pointed out before, at certain times of the year have to struggle hard to support life. Lacking these social feelings, I believe, many of the smaller tribes, for instance the Choroti, would have perished long ago. Besides, the very history of the Chaco Indians proves that they have been driven into these inhospitable regions by forces over which they had no control, the most important being the pressure of superior peoples. Pressed from behind and meeting resistance from those already occupying these lands they were compelled to fight for their very existence. These facts of the historic past of the Chaco Indians account for the warlike character of many of them, but also for their strong social instincts.

Social sympathy is developed strongest among low tribes such as the Choroti and Ashluslay, but also manifests itself among the Tobas and the Mataco. What Mr. Grubb says with special reference to the Lenguas, that »the apparent hospitality is given grudgingly, though ostensibly with a good grace», does not at any rate hold true of the *Choroti*. I have mentioned before that bargaining in every form is unknown to the Choroti, and this is due simply to the fact that they regard themselves as being socially so intimately united that property and the products of labour are practically common to all. When a party of Choroti men return from fishing they always distribute the catch in the village so that every family has its share, and if one asks a Choroti why he does so, his only answer is generally: *etsīni*, *i.e.* »they are my brothers». »We are all brothers», is the principal tenet of their social morality There is an unwritten native law which states that no single family or individual shall suffer want as long as there are others who possess food. This system is looked

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upon as perfectly natural, and since full reciprocity exists, such an act of apparent liberality does not even evoke feelings of gratitude in those who for the moment are the objects of it. Those who have been travelling and therefore have not produced crops, or those who for some other reason have no means of subsistence for the time being, have a claim on the hospitality of their fellow-tribesmen. Even when there is nowhere a real want the successful hunter or fisher gladly shares his abundance of food with other families of the village, knowing that others will do the same to him on another occasion.

Native law enjoins hospitality not only to fellow-tribesmen but also to members of foreign tribes with which the Indians stand on a friendly footing. The same hospitality and liberality is shown to a white man whom the Indians regard as their friend. For my own part I frequently had, both among the Tobas and the Choroti, personal experience of this Indian hospitality.

In spite of the liberality which appears in the relations of the different members of the community to one another, private property is strictly respected in all the tribes. We can particularly speak of »socialism» in regard to the *land*, which, as I have mentioned before, is considered to belong to the people in general; no Indian, not even a chief, has a direct claim to any part of it above his fellows. The flocks of sheep and goats feed on the common pasture. Similarly the natural products of the country, such as game, fish, wild fruit, honey, and fire-wood, are common property. But as soon as an individual family has taken possession of a piece of this common land for cultivation, its ownership is acknowledged and respected as long as the family actually cultivates it. What the Indian collects of the natural products of the country and what he produces or acquires through his own work — such as clothes, ornaments, weapons and implements, magical instruments, etc. — is also regarded as his exclusive property, although, as soon as food is in question, an unwritten moral law and social sympathy largely induces the individual owner to share it with others. The flocks of course also belong to individual families. The sheep and goats always wear property marks, so that when they are taken home from the pasture in the afternoon the Indians can easily determine who is the owner of each animal.

The lower Chaco tribes, particularly the Choroti and the Ashluslay, do not know of any distinctions between rich and poor, and even among the Tobas it is a comparatively rare thing that a man possesses more than his fellows. Only a few great chiefs who have made successful wars against

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583 this will not influence her choice and that of her parents. An abortion will be
581 produced artificially should the man prove to be inacceptable. Should the girl
847 prove to be pregnant at a time when she has started a new, more stable, relation, the new young man will demand that she aborts.

585 Thus the consummation of the marriage, the creation of a family, is, for the
591 Mataco, identical with the commencement of a completely valid marriage. As a rule the family moves shortly after the birth to its own hut, though still near
[178] the girl's parents. Village matrilocality is permanent, and until about 40 years
[342] ago, when communal houses were still the most common, the sharing of a hut with the wife's family for a whole lifetime, was the rule.

593 Already in connexion with her initiation each girl is given certain advice by
[881] her mother concerning the proper behaviour as a married person. The mother
[867] will tell her, for example, that she must treat her coming in-laws as though they were her own parents and that she must always be generous when it is a matter
[606] of sharing food with them. She will also counsel the girl to show respect to her future husband, fetching fuel, for example, when he is away fishing, and ensuring that there is plenty of water for him when he returns from hunting. Willingness to cooperate and mutual respect are very typical of the relations between man and wife. The man's position in marriage is formally the same. He must regard his
[606] wife's parents as his own, must be generous to them, though in fact they do not treat him with the same indulgence they would show a son. In any conflict that may arise they side with the daughter against the husband. Should he not be sufficiently industrious he will be sent out to fish or hunt, and if unsuccessful he will be reproached, something that no Mataco would do to a son. If a man quarrels with his mother-in-law he is chased away. His happiness depends to a high degree upon an equable temperament and ability to obtain food. But as his wife will
[476] always share his bag with relations and friends, and because matrilocality prevails, the wife's family will always obtain the lion's share of what he brings back.

606 The position of a son-in-law as a stranger in another band also raises difficulties
609 for him. In case of dispute his wife's family or other local people will be able to say: "We don't know him and don't trust him". Perhaps he has no kin in the village to vouch for him and give him assistance. The position of a son-in-law can thus be compared to that of a stranger in a big city, irresponsible because he is unknown, and overlooked for that reason.

593 The mutual relations of married couples are naturally stamped by matrilo-
[554] cality and the woman's very considerable occupational effort, which together give the wife a good social position in relation to her husband. In the meantime it is more through the wife's family that this status is manifested. As between the sexes the husband still dominates. As a rule it is the husband who has the say, but it is often the woman who decides what is to be said. The latent tension
[182] between family and sex results in a curiously unintegrated behaviour. By day a man and wife behave almost like strangers to each other. They are extremely terse